

PW to Burke Marshall

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Burke Marshall, Assistant Attorney General, DATE: March 12, 1962
Civil Rights Division

FROM : Edwin G. Fisher, Special Assistant for Public Information

SUBJECT: Louis Lomax' Article

John Fisher

I have the following questions or suggestions:

1. Page 5 - Line 10: The phrase "and only then."

For example, election of more democrats for the West and the North would help the Administration get its liberal legislation through. Would recommend elimination of the phrase "and only then."

2. Page 6 - Lines 9 & 10: The Attorney General's call for a "cooling-off period" was solely to prevent injury to innocent persons in the Freedom Rider dispute. I am attaching a text of the statement which shows it mentioned nothing about embarrassing the President. It would be desirable to give Lomax the background of the statement.

3. Page 9 - Line 8: I would recommend spelling out a little more detail about the nine Negro students in Little Rock. I assume that he means the nine students who attempted to enter highschool. But many of the readers might not get the connection immediately.

4. Page 14 - Lines 11 & 12: Q. The phrase "as they do everywhere."

Many Negroes work for other Negroes. I recently visited the offices of Ebony and John Johnson has a large staff of Negroes and one white employee.

5. Page 24 - Line 18 through Page 25 - Line 8:

I would like to clear this quote attributed to the Attorney General, with the Attorney General. You were there but the phrase "despite what you read in the paper about our sincerity when it comes to civil rights legislation" doesn't sound like RFK. Also, the sentence "our position is known and we plan to go all out on Capitol Hill for legislation in this area." If this is what the Attorney General actually said -- OK. If it is not, Lomax has no right to quote him. He should either paraphrase what the Attorney General said or come back for a direct quote.

6. Page 25 - Line 11: In connection with Senator Mansfield's introduction of the literacy test bill, I recommend changing the phrase "a bill drafted in the Justice Department" to read as follows: "A bill drafted in his office and the Justice Department."
7. Page 26 - Lines 5 through 10: This paragraph seems out of context and somewhat obscure in connection with the material immediately preceding.
8. Page 27 - Lines 2 & 3: The Leadership Conference on Civil Rights is identified as a committee composed of the heads of all civil rights organizations, Negro and Jewish. Are they only Negro or Jewish? I doubt it. Another question is - is it definite that the march on Washington, which Lomax refers to, actually will be held?
9. Pages 29 & 30 : I would like to see some mention of the fact that these men got their jobs because they were highly qualified and not because they were Negroes. As the Attorney General has pointed out, the important thing is that they were not denied their jobs because of their race. I am attaching the text of the Attorney General's speech in Cleveland last December and his appearance on the Today Show in January which have quotes Lomax might wish to use in this connection.

Attachments

HARPER'S MAGAZINE
Editorial Room

HARPER & BROTHERS
PUBLISHERS



40 EAST 33rd STREET
NEW YORK 16, N. Y.
MURRAY HILL 2-1800

March 7, 1962

Dear Mr. Marshall:

At the suggestion of Mr. Louis Lomax, I am sending you a typescript of his article scheduled for the May issue of Harper's. We should be most grateful if you would read it, or have it read, and let us know if you find any errors of fact. Since we will be going to press within a few days, it would be helpful to have your suggestions as soon as is convenient.

Sincerely,

Catharine Meyer

Mr. Burke Marshall
Assistant Attorney General
Civil Rights Division
Department of Justice
Constitution Avenue and Tenth Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Enc.

Catharine Meyer/rpw

Refiled

HARPER'S MAGAZINE, 49 EAST 33RD STREET, NEW YORK 16, N.Y.

LOUIS E. LOMAX

THE KENNEDYS

MOVE IN ON DIXIE

A LTHOUGH the public is scarcely aware of it,
the Kennedy Administration is now deeply involved
in an unprecedented campaign to enforce the vot-
ing rights of Negroes in the South. If success-
ful, this program will also advance those very
civil rights which the President's critics
accuse him of neglecting, such as schools, hous-
ing, and jobs. And, not least important, it
will help guarantee the Negroes' loyalty to
the Democratic party.

AUTHOR

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The campaign in the South, which is now quietly growing in its second year, is actually a pioneer movement; of which one jaw is the Justice Department's legal action in cases of infringement of voting rights, and the other is a mass drive to get Negroes to register and vote, a drive led by the six major Negro civil rights organizations to be substantial grants and financed by a half-million-dollar grant from private foundations in the North, sympathetic to the Kennedy view. This emphasis on the right to vote may come as a surprise to some civil rights enthusiasts, but early in his Administration the President let it be known that he considered disfranchisement the crux of the Negro's affliction. Starting its attack on this evil, the Justice Department filed fourteen new cases charging racial discrimination by various county registrars in five states of the Deep South, and by December 1961 it was making investigations in sixty-one other counties. These cases were passers, pleadings which, when they are settled, will admit thousands of Negroes

AUTHOR

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to the polls. And to protect these potential Negro voters, the Justice Department has successfully prosecuted two suits which affirmed the government's right to act swiftly, and on its own motion, in behalf of Negro voters facing economic or physical reprisals.

The private civil rights organizations' involvement with the voter program began during the spring of 1961. Negro leaders were approached individually by white liberals who assured them that money could be raised if the various civil rights organizations would work together. The program's chief advocate was the prominent New York lawyer, Lloyd Garrison, a ~~Democrat and a~~ member of the Board of Education. Listening to the proposal, the Negro leaders became convinced that the sponsors were unofficial emissaries from the White House. After several rounds of individual talks, when a consensus seemed to be reached, the Negro leaders were invited to a

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1957.

The Interim Foundation is a Delaware corporation with offices in New York. It is a two-year-old philanthropic agency that gives grants for educational, civic, scientific, and literary purposes. It is headed by Stephen R. Currier, and Mrs. Mary Jane Eddy is the executive secretary. Foundation officials refuse to say just where their money comes from.

Joint meeting of the Foundation officials

where

Mr. Garrison, who is also attorney for the Southern

A

Foundation, made the presentation; the core of his

argument was that voter registration is the one

area where substantial Negro gains can be made

with bold government support. This, of course,

is the Kennedy Administration's position, and the

reasoning supporting it is cold political facts

(1) Voter registration is the area where the

Justice Department has the most power; it can move

swiftly, and, if need be, on its own motion. (This

power was guaranteed by the Civil Rights bill passed

in 1958.)

(2) Voter registration is the one civil rights

item white supremacists cannot afford to oppose

publicly, ^{for} the right to vote is ~~a~~ basis to the

American system of government just as ~~any~~

~~sugregationists may say from a ~~short~~ ~~distance~~~~

Issue

(3) Negroes have the most difficulty in areas

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1958.

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where their numerical strength poses a political threat. If these Negroes voted, they could help to elect decent local officials. This, in the Administration view, would be the critical step toward general civil rights advancement.

(4) A major increase in the number of Southern Negro voters would not only change things at home but change the complexion of Congress; Southern reactionaries would either ~~send~~ their ways or run *the risk of being* voted out of office. Then, and only then, could the Administration get its liberal legislation, including civil rights, through Congress.

(5) Finally, the program is the Administration's most convincing answer to those critics who charge that the President is falling down on his 1960 pledges.

The civil rights leaders with whom this program was discussed were Roy Wilkins of the NAACP, Thurgood Marshall of the NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund, Whitney Young, the new executive

0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80
5 15 25 35 45 55 65 75
1. director of the Urban League, Edward King of the
2. Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, Jr.
3. Martin Luther King of the Southern Christian
4. James Farmer of CORE,
5. Leadership Conference, and Leslie Dabir of the
6. Southern Regional Council. Some were suspicious
7. that the move was an attempt to siphon off support
8. for the sit-ins and freedom rides, and this fear
increased
was enhanced when Attorney General Robert Kennedy
9. called for a "cooling off" period last ~~month~~ ^{May} lest they
~~disembarkations~~
10. ~~they~~ embarrass the President who was then on an
overseas mission. But friends of the President
11. pointed out that the voter-registration program
12. would, in fact, aid these civil rights demonstrations
13. by making it possible for the money then being
14. spent for voter registration to be used for other
15. purposes such as mass ~~demonstrations~~ at restaurants
16. and bus terminals
17. The next hurdle—disagreement among the leadership
18. groups on just who would do what, who would get
19. how much, and how they would arrange to stay out of
20. how much, and how they would arrange to stay out of

Chk m/c

what
why
this?

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each other's hair ~~was~~ overcome by a proposal
that the Southern Regional Council act as report-
er for the money. This is an organization
based in the South that relies upon moral suasion
and accurate research to bring on racial harmony
and thus is not involved in the fierce competi-
tion that has enveloped Negro leadership organi-
zations since the sit-ins. The Urban League, much
to the surprise of all concerned, was the first to
agree to the plan. (The Urban League, which con-
sidered itself a "social agency," has been in
eclipse for the past several years because it
refused to enter into any kind of controversial
activity. Its "new image" is due to the appoint-
ment of Whitney Young, a militant liberal and
former Dean of the School of Social Work at
Atlanta University, as executive secretary.)

(After the Urban League came the Congress on Racial
Equality (CORE), Dr. Martin Luther King's Southern
Christian Leadership Conference, the student confe-

organization, and, after a long delay that almost wrecked the program, the NAACP. (Thurgood Marshall and the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund could not participate because they are restricted to legal activity.)

As of this writing, the status of the foundations' grants is still uncertain, but there is hope that some of a half-million dollars or more may become available for the educational purposes of the drive. The mechanics of the program are complex, but in essence they

6 ft \$2

The names of the interested foundations cannot be disclosed at this time.

Fortune
9 or 10 Brisker
18 price

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ball down to this: The Southern Regional Council

will act as general supervisor, but the grant will

go to the Voter Education Program, a newly formed

agency with offices a few feet down the hall from

the Southern Regional Council on Forsyth Street

in Atlanta. The Negro lawyer, Wiley Branton of

Pine Bluff, Arkansas (the man who made headlines

as lawyer for the nine Negro students in Little

Rock), has moved to Atlanta to head the project.

A SCRIPT FOR JACKSON

THE stage is set for President Kennedy to fight

the civil rights battle of his preference on

grounds on his own choosing. Although the

Justice Department has appeared as a friend of the

court in behalf of the freedom riders and sit-in

demonstrators, these are not the things the

Administration feels are of basic importance.

Five hundred Negroes going to jail for the right

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to sit in a Jackson, Mississippi, airport restaurant, is more than a dramatic gesture, and the Administration is willing to help them. But this is not the script of a Kennedy civil rights drama.

The civil rights drama according to the Kennedy Administration—if I may take the liberty of a fantasy—would open with five thousand Negroes singing and praying as they march toward the voter registration office in Jackson, Mississippi. Martin Luther King, Roy Wilkins, James Farmer, and Whitney Young would march, pray, and sing with them as they round the bend from "colored town" and head down Jackson's main street toward City Hall. At the registration office, we see the white officials peering horrified out of the windows, slamming shut the door, and hanging up a sign reading "Closed until further notice, which won't be no time soon."

As the curtain descends, the Negro marchers

1. kneel; one prays while the multitude sing softly.

2. "Like a tree planted by the waters, I shall not
3. be moved."

4. [My script of Act II calls for Attorney General
5. Robert Kennedy to speed to City Hall by limousine
6. from the Jackson ^a Airport, to persuade the white
7. officials into their senses by argument and
8. federal injunction, and to deputize his assist-

9. Attorney General
10. ant for civil rights, Burke Marshall, to restrain
11. A
12. local segregationists (like the Ku Klux Klan
13. and White Citizens Council). As the curtain do-
14. scends, the Negroes are parading to the polls.

15. [Act II is rather hard to stage, but Act III is
16. a simple dialogue between two Southern Senators
17. on Capitol Hill:

18. [First Senator: "By God, niggers are voting in
19. my state."

20. [Second Senator: "Well, they are a-voting in
mine too; and furthermore, they ain't niggers,
they are colored citizens."

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The fantasy is mine, but it by no means exaggerates the results which the Kennedy Administration hopes to attain. I believe the hope is a practical one, for this reason: If the present pincers movement were an entirely outside affair, I am sure it would fail. It happens however, to coincide with spontaneous local political action by Negroes in the South. Brave and resourceful men and women are already planting essential grass-roots support. For example, this is what is actually going on in Mississippi:

For the first time since Reconstruction, two Negroes are making a serious bid for Congressional seats. One of them is Reverend R.L.T. Smith of Jackson, who seeks to defeat the incumbent, arch-segregationist John Bell Williams; the other is ~~and~~ Reverend Theodore Trammell, of Clarksdale. Trammell's district is, by population, predominantly Negro, yet it includes such counties as Walthall and Tallahatchie where no

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0 5 10 15 20 25 30 35 40 45 50 55 60 65 70 75 80
Negroes have voted since the turn of the century.

It also includes Coahoma County (Clarksdale) where
race relations are excellent, by Mississippi stan-
dards. The Reverend Smith's district was almost
50 per cent Negro when he announced. It has
since been enlarged to include the "white ~~suburb~~"
of Jackson thus reducing the Negro voter potential
to about 35 per cent.

When the Reverends Smith and Trammell announced
their candidacies—Trammell is Methodist, Smith
is Baptist—their prospects were so slim as to
make the attempt almost bizarre. This is why
To vote in Mississippi one must prove he has
paid his poll tax—two dollars in Smith's district,

three dollars in Trammell's—two years in a row
unless he has just reached the voting eligibility
age of twenty-one, in which case he must present
one poll-tax receipt and an exemption certificate.

After he pays his poll tax, he must pass an
examination of twenty-one questions, one of which

(Four other
Southern states
have poll taxes.)

"
a letter of
consecration test is
going

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requires that the potential voter interpret any section or all of the thirty-page Mississippi constitution.

Although Mississippi has almost a million Negroes only 60,000 are registered voters.

The Mississippi Negro intellectuals who could organize a Negro voter registration program are sidelined because the bulk of them work for the state as schoolteachers and would risk their jobs by getting involved.

The Negro masses in Mississippi, as they do everywhere, work for white people. And, according to the legend, they are afraid to register and vote.

Even putting aside the social and psychological factors, Negro candidates are doomed ~~to~~ until legislation regulating Congress passes ~~and~~ poll taxes and ~~and~~ literacy tests. Yet, like the ~~bumble~~ bee who flies in ignorance of the laws of aerodynamics which say his wingspread is too short, Smith and Trammell have taken to the stump in the bayous, with amazing

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1 results.

2 By early March, they had raised a \$25,000
3 campaign kitty, some of it from "private" white
4 audiences who invited them to speak. Reverend
5 Smith has bought time on one of Jackson's TV
6 stations and stated his campaign platform. The
7 other station refused and he is now asking the
8 Federal Communications Commission to force it
9 to sell him time. Neither candidate has been
10 pressured. Both told me they have received crank
11 calls but neither took them seriously. Both said
12 that federal legal actions to protect voting rights
13 have shaken white Mississippians into some hesitancy
14 about their usual capers at the voting booth, for
15 fear, in Reverend Smith's words, "that the Justice
16 Department will come down upon them as the plagues
17 of God did upon the Egyptians."

18 Another courageous Negro, Dr. Eugene Johnson,
19 a Ph.D. from the University of Pennsylvania and
20 a professor of ecology at Jackson State University,

These three individuals are an embodiment of
the new grass-roots sense of militancy among
Mississippi Negroes.

"I am not an outsider," Reverend Smith told me.
"I was born, reared, and educated not only in
Mississippi, but in this county. I fear nothing
but God and I disbelieve in any kind of ——————
supremacy, be it white or black. And you can tell
the folks up North I'm ready to die by my convictions."

The odds are still against the Reverends Smith
and Trammell. Their first goal is to get on the
ballot for the "white" Democratic primary now
scheduled for early June. (It is a measure of
their power that efforts are being made by the
state both to delay the primary several weeks and
to reshape all of its Congressional districts before
the November elections.) But the Negro candidates'
battle plan is chiefly to draw enough primary votes
to force a runoff.

"If we can do that," Dr. Aaron Henry, campaign

"Nevertheless, the

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manager for Reverend Trammell told me, "we will either elect our man or have a big say about who will be elected. This is not primarily a campaign to elect a Negro to Congress; our basic hope is to elect a Congressman, white or Negro, who will be fair to Negroes. If we do no more than cast the decisive bloc of votes for the white winner we will consider that a victory."

JUSTICE HARRY TRUMAN

The HESS courageous few, acting on their own, and with only silent and scattered support from local white sympathizers, have set modest goals. But their action, as seen from Washington, is much more important than electing one or two good Congressmen, refreshing as that outcome might be. The Department of Justice is not blind in this field; it has been gathering information on the potential Negro vote throughout the South and practical

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Another Mississippi Negro working effectively
to educate Negroes for registration is Dr. Young.
Arline Young, a Ph.D. from the University of
Pennsylvania who is now a professor of zoology
at Jackson State College. She has put her job
on the chopping block by organizing voter regis-
tration schools in Jackson, but so far she has
neither been threatened by state officials nor been
revoked by the Negro president of the state-
supported college.

Reverend Smith has worked wonders here," Dr.
young told me. "Even if we don't win, he has
shaken both professional and mass Negroes out of
their lethargy. Now they are parading to the polls."

On the day Dr. Young talked to me she had to
cut the conversation short. Four of her voter
registration pupils—all Negro women over forty—
had attempted to register but were turned back
when the registrar politely explained, "We ran
out of registration forms and had to order new

Is this
right?
Yes,
Lomax

1. Since they have just come in but the ink on them
2. is not dry yet." Mr. Young was en route to the
3. registration office with the four women and was
4. confident that "the ink will be dry by the time
5. I get there."

6.

7. JUSTICE ~~AMERICAN~~ KEEPS TRACK

8.

9. THE courageous few, acting on their own, and
10. with only silent and scattered support from
11. local white sympathizers, have set modest goals.
12. But their action, as seen from Washington, is
13. much more important than electing one or two good
14. Congressmen—refreshing as that outcome might
15. be. The Department of Justice is not blind in this
16. field; it is gathering information on the potential
17. Negro vote throughout the South and it has practical

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- plans to make it a reality. The following statistics gathered from the Department suggest the political scope of the Negro registration drive. (The percentages refer to adults of voting age, Negro or white.)
- Negroes comprise 40 per cent of the voting potential in seven of Alabama's nine Congressional Districts.
- Among Mississippi's six Congressional districts, Negroes are 50 per cent in four districts; 32 per cent in one; 23 per cent in one.
- South Carolina has six Congressional Districts: Negroes are more than 40 per cent in two of them, 35 per cent in two others, and more than 20 per cent in the remaining two.
- Negroes are 33 per cent of the potential voters in six of Georgia's ten Congressional Districts. They are at least 25 per cent in all eight of Louisiana's Congressional Districts, and are more than 40 per cent in one.

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When these Congressional District figures are broken down to city and country levels, the balance, in favor of Negroes, is even more impressive. Mississippi, for example, has eighty-two counties among adults. Negroes predominate in eighteen of these counties; five counties are about evenly balanced.

Morgan County, Alabama, is a striking, though not unique, example of Negro voter potential: it has 8,000 voting-age Negroes, 7,000 adult white people. But 5,000 white adults are registered voters as against only 139 Negroes.

So, throughout the deep South, the story runs. And it is the theory of the Kennedy administration that once these Negroes gain the franchise they can change conditions at home and in Washington. But how will the scheme which looks so good on paper work out in practice?

"It's already working," Justice ~~Marshall~~, the Assistant Attorney General in charge of civil rights, told me. "We have been working closely with the

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1 Negroes in Macon County [Alabama] and Registering and
2 Haywood Counties [Tennessee] and changes are al-
3 ready in the making. We have gone to court to
4 see to it that these Negroes are allowed to reg-
5 ister without reprisals. We won and they are reg-
6 istering."

7 ^{Bureau} I recinded ~~you~~ Marshall that Negroes in the
8 South hesitate to run the risk of voting when the
9 choice is between two equally abusive white candidates.

10 "We expect our voter registration efforts not
11 only to produce better white candidates for Negroes
12 to choose from," ^{he} Marshall replied, "but we fully
13 expect to have Negro candidates emerge, ^{and}
14 mainly in Macon County."

15 Only time can say how all this will work out, but
16 the Administration is fully convinced that it is
17 on the right track. What the Kennedy Administra-
18 tion fears most at this juncture ^{is} ^{it} ^{correctly} and I think they
19 are right ^{is} that the Negro leadership organizations,
20 either because of bickering among themselves or

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lack of contact with the Negro masses, will fail
to draw out large number of potential Negro voters.
For this reason the voter registration grant by
the foundations is not limited to the established
Negro organizations. Any group interested in
education
voter registration may apply, and I predict that
if the established organizations seem to be
falling short, a number of local organizations,
such as the Montgomery, Alabama, and Albany,
Georgia, movementsⁱⁿ will obtain grants from the
Voter Education Program for the specific purpose
of carrying out ~~voter education~~. The
promising groups are the citizens in Clarinda,
Mississippi, who have put several thousand Negroes
on the registration books in the last twelve
months and the Coordinating Voters Committee in
Jackson, Mississippi, which Dr. Young heads.
These are grass-roots movements and they seem
to be closer to the Kennedy view than the over-
structured Negro leadership organizations are.

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1 For example, I interviewed Attorney General Robert

2 Kennedy and Dr. Arline Young, in Johnson City, Tennessee,

3 to what each one said:

4 Dr. Young: "We have three problems down here:

5 Many Negroes are lethargic about voting but the
6 appearance of two Negroes as Congressional can-
7 didates has done a good deal to help eliminate that.

8 The other two problems we face are the poll tax

9 and the literacy tests. We can raise the money

10 and help Negroes pay the poll tax but the liter-

11 acy test is beyond us. Many of the students who

12 come to my voter registration schools fail the

13 registration test because they cannot interpret

14 the Mississippi State Constitution to suit the

15 white registration officials. ~~so~~ ^{so} we

16 we could just get rid of that literacy test we

17 could really do wonders down here."

18 Attorney General Robert Kennedy: "Despite what

19 you read in the press about our sincerity when

20 it comes to civil rights legislation, I can say

25
25

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to you that we are quite determined about getting legislation that will eliminate the poll tax and literacy tests as prerequisites for voting. We have already moved through the courts to strike down literacy tests in Louisiana and we are now preparing a case that will raise the same question in Mississippi. Our position is known.

Kennedy [redacted] and we plan to go all out on Capitol Hill for legislation in this area."

in January of this year,
A week later Majority Leader Mike Mansfield introduced [redacted] in the Senate that would standardize voting literacy tests. Based upon the report of the President's Commission on Civil Rights, the bill would admit any citizen who has completed sixth grade, in English or Spanish, to the polls. Minority Leader Everett Dirksen cut short a speaking tour in Illinois and returned to Washington to act as co-sponsor of the bill. The measure is now before the Senate Judiciary Committee headed by Mississippi Senator

John Wayne
[initials]

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25
26

1 James Eastland—the unfortunate senator from

2 24 rights bills. However Mansfield has given notice

3 that he will move to bring the bill up out of com-

4 mittee if the group has not acted by the first A

5 One great hope in

6 The ~~part~~ of the pioneer movement is that one

7 Some day soon now Dr. Young and Robert Kennedy may get

8 to know each other. Brought together by the Ad-
ministration's voter registration program these

9 two strangers will sit down, compare notes, and

10 discover how much they have in common.

The Administration also
wants a bill prohibiting
poll taxes in elections
of federal officials.

A
Has such
a bill
been
introduced?

11
12 WHAT THE PRESIDENT
13 COUNTS ON

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W HATEVER the merits and success of the President's
voting scheme, the Administration will continue
to be under attack from Negro leaders for its
failure to take certain Executive actions and
support a variety of civil rights bills. The criti-
cism of the President will become a continual issue

~~20~~
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1957?
S.S.
S.C.

when the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights
(a committee composed of the heads of all civil
rights organizations, Negro and Jewish) called a
march on Washington late this spring to protest
against what they call "a retreat from the civil
rights plank in the 1960 Democratic platform."

The Negro leaders want the President to go all
out for legislation that would establish a Per-
manent Fair Employment Practice Committee; they
want an act of Congress making school desegregation
the law of the land; they want the restoration of

Part III of the 1958 Civil Rights bill. (This
section of the bill was deleted because of Southern
opposition and would empower the Attorney General
to move on all civil rights issues, and on his
own motion.)

This would remove the curse from embattled
Southern Negroes, many of whom are afraid to file
complaints against white persons who abuse them.)

In terms of Executive action, the Negro leaders

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want mainly (1) an order striking down discrimination in federally aided housing and (2) enforcement of an existing order calling for the end of discrimination by private companies handling government contracts.

These are the same demands the civil rights leaders made of the President early in the summer of 1961.

The President gave them a cordial audience at that time; he told them he understood that the very nature of their jobs made it necessary that they keep him under continuing pressure. But his reply to their demands was "no, not now." Then the President went on to state his conviction that voter registration was the better civil rights course for him to follow.

Despite the mounting criticism from liberals, the President's civil rights position has not shifted. Mr. Kennedy is even more certain now than he was last year that by election time—¹⁹⁶²
_{in} and 1964 he will have more sway with the liberal

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Author
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files.

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5 15 25 35 45 55 65 75

House will have more Negroes than any other Congress before.

including Negroes, than his critics will. There
are several reasons for confidence:

First, Kennedy has appointed more Negroes to
top federal jobs than any president in history.
"

The Assistant White House Press Officer is a
Negro; so is an Assistant Secretary of State and
an Assistant Secretary of Labor. The nation's
housing boss not only is a Negro but is a former
chairman of the executive board of the NAACP.

This Administration has appointed two Negroes as
United States Attorneys, the first in history,

and has broken precedent again by naming two
Negroes to federal district judgeships. The
number of Negro attorneys in the Department of
Justice has increased fivefold—from two to fifty
—since Mr. Kennedy took office and his brother
took over the Justice Department.

All this didn't "just grow." The Deans of
fifty law schools are now on the scout for prom-

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1. ising Negro students at the request of the ~~Administration~~
2. the Department of Justice will have a
~~istination~~. ~~the administration~~

3. Negro law
4. number of applicants on file for jobs, ~~which~~

5. ~~Report~~ for the first time in his
6. tory,

7. Second, Southern rural Negroes are now leav-
8. ing the South and so are voting with their feet.
9. Upwards of a million Negroes went North in the
10. decade of the fifties. Less than 20 per cent of
11. the nation's nineteen million Negroes now live
12. in rural areas, and, as of 1960, over 50 per cent
13. were living outside the Southeastern states.

14. This Negro migration—the greatest going on
15. anywhere in the world!—works for the Kennedy Ad-
16. ministration ~~in America~~. Once Negroes move to
17. urban areas, even in the South, they have less
18. difficulty at the polls and, on the whole, vote
19. Democratic (63 per cent of the Negro voters
20. voted for Mr. Kennedy in 1960 while 51 per cent
49 per cent of the white voters deserted him).

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1. ~~Secondly~~, the Negro voter job discrimination
2. being what it is, embraces a political phi-
3. phy which meshes precisely with the legislative
4. program Kennedy is attempting to get through Con-
5. gress over the opposition of Southern reaction-
6. aries and conservative Republicans. Needless to
7. say, urban and non-Southern Negroes will be deep-
8. ly impressed by the Kennedy voter registration
9. drive once it gets under way. The plan will
10. not make much of a dent upon the South for another
11. year or two, but the publicity that it sure to
12. arise from the registration of thousands of
13. Southern Negroes will cause their Northern bro-
14. thers to vote Democratic in larger numbers than
15. ever.

16. Third, there is not a Republican on the hori-
17. son who can match the Administration's civil
18. rights record. Governor Rockefeller has an eco-
19. tional appeal to many middle-class Negroes who
20. have graduated from Negro colleges supported by

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Rockefeller money, but his civil rights record in New York has been without luster. Hence his denunciation of Kennedy's "record of broken promises" is relatively ineffective. Richard Nixon has yet to explain why he didn't try to get Martin Luther King out of jail on the eve of the 1968 elections (Kennedy did intervene, and, according to his biographers, the phone call in Dr. King's behalf swayed the nation's Negro voters and, thus, the election). Senator Barry Goldwater has openly advised his party to forget about the Negro vote. That means that Negroes will forget about him should he get the GOP nomination. And if the Republicans hitch their wagon to George Romney's rising political star they are indeed in for a shock. For Romney, now a candidate for the Michigan GOP gubernatorial nomination, is an elder ⁱⁿ ~~of~~ the Mormon Church and must somehow explain to Negro voters how he can embrace a faith that bars Negroes from its priest-

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"A STROKE OF THE PEN"

It's no doubt, John F. Kennedy stands well with the Negro voters. Even so the President must answer to the people and to his own sense of ~~conscience~~^{Mac}, as his biographer James McGregor Burns calls it, for his failure to issue the much discussed executive order ending discrimination in federally aided housing. Mr. Kennedy himself helped heat the coals that are now being heaped upon his head when in 1960 he said the Republicans were insincere about civil rights because they refused to issue such an order. "This," said the then Senator Kennedy, "the President [Mr. Eisenhower] could do with a stroke of his pen." The order has been on Mr. Kennedy's desk for over a year ~~now~~, and he has yet to make that critical stroke with his pen.

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1. "The argument is not over if we are going to
2. issue the order," Louis E. Martin of the Demo-
3. cratic National Committee, and a Negro, told me.
4. "the question is when we are going to do it."

5. Behind this delay lies a typical Kennedy oper-
6. ation. The Administration had hoped to have the
7. confirmation of Dr. Robert C. Weaver, a Negro,

8. Affairs
9. as head of the proposed new Urban ~~Affairs~~ De-
10. partment signed and delivered before the order
11. was issued. (This would allow the South time to
12. swallow one pill before another was offered.)

13. When the agency was defeated in Congress this
14. February, the question of a Negro in the Cabinet
15. was no longer a factor affecting the housing or-
16. der. (However, the Weaver affair did win the
17. President additional favor with Negro voters;
18. Every major Negro newspaper praised the Pres-
19. ident for the attempt.) The Administration's
20. stated reason for the ~~delay~~ as of now, is to
 give the Administration time to do some house

62 sp. of same

7
3

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cleaning in the housing bureau itself.

"We would rather face the voters in 1964 and have the liberals say we didn't issue the order,"

one of the President's advisers told me. "Then

to say we issued it and couldn't make ~~any~~ ^{it} one

people carry it out." To protect themselves against just this, the Administration has orga-

nized a number of pressure moves, mostly political

and in both the South and the North, to prevail

on reluctant local housing officials in the right

direction once the order is given. Undoubtedly,

also, the Administration is giving prior consider-

ation to passage of its tariff legislation.

As for the order itself, it will be issued—¹
_{in} possibly by summer, almost certainly by the ~~the~~ ¹
November elections. It will probably contain a

Kennedy twist: a provision to strike down dis-
crimination in the unions supplying workers on
such housing. (The construction crafts unions

are still a lily-white operation even in the North.)

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Thus the order, as now envisioned, will not
only make open all federally aided housing to
Negroes but will provide some of them with jobs
so that they can pay their rent.

Clearly, then, much of the liberal criticism
of the President can be reduced to a matter of
timing. As the full implications of the Kennedy
drive to register Negro voters in the South and
other civil rights moves become clear, the ques-
tion to be argued will be why he took so long.
And once again it will be Mr. Kennedy's own words
by which he will be weighed. He was a candidate
on September 9, 1960, in Los Angeles, when he
said: The President "cannot wait for others to
act. He himself must draft the programs, trans-
mit them to Congress and fight for their enact-
ment, taking his case to the people if the Con-
gress is slow."

This the President has not done. His delay,
I am convinced, is a necessary concomitant of

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political mechanics: the awesome task of moving
1 Congress (a Congress where he has no real major-
2 ity backing), of rallying private support, of
3 changing, legally, the political and economic
4 situation of the Negroes in the South and wherever
5 they are discriminated against. He got into the
6 Presidency by political maneuvering—the only
7 way he could have ~~got~~ ^{been} got there—and he cannot
8 afford an absolutely moralistic attitude on any
9 single issue, particularly one so explosive as
10 civil rights. It is true: he has not kept all
11 of his promises by time clock. But he has a de-
12 fence—part of which is the massive and necessar-
13 ^{ly}ily slow voter-registration drive which I have
14 described here. If it works as the planners
15 think it will, this defense will be hard to de-
16 stroy.

17 There are of course some men who, like Ishmael,
18 would thunder for all to hear and, they hope,
19 trouble. But in practical terms—the things men
20

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5 10 15 20 25 30 35 40 45 50 55 60 65 70 75 80

eat, vote, and pay rent by - would these moral-

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64 65 66 67 68 69 70 71 72 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80

1st's accomplish as much as the coupled and bur-

ed man from Boston is now achieving?

Frankly, I don't it.